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CHURCH AND STATE

The Convention People's Party Government and the Church in Ghana

1950 - 1966

Joseph K. Dadson

Student's Guide
Kate L. Turabian
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The Convention People's Party Government and the Church in Ghana 1950 - 1966

The period 1950 - 66 is selected because it is part of the whole African Independence Movement - Nationalism and Patriotism - which came into prominence after World War II, 1939 - 45.

This reference to the War is significant for two reasons. During the war, many Africans were mobilized to support former colonial masters, e.g., Britain and France, against Germany. In that process the African soldiers became aware of the innate desire and love of man for freedom and peace. When the soldiers returned home after the war, they began demanding freedom from their colonial masters who had been their allies in the war for freedom and peace. Also, the common experiences of the soldiers whether black or white, e.g., their common fear of death, or sharing of rude jokes - helped to pierce the mystery surrounding the white man as a superior being as compared to the African. Consequently the military became one of the factors in the post-World War II independence struggle in Africa.

In fact, Kwame Nkrumah's rise to leadership in 1948-49 in the Gold Coast now Ghana, was possible because he had the political sense to cash in on the riots which followed the shooting of three ex-servicemen on 28th Feb 1948[1] at the Osu Castle cross-roads. The Ex-servicemen had gone to the castle to submit a petition from the Gold Coast Ex-servicemen's Union to the Governor. In the petition they protested against the failure of the

1. F.A. Botchway, Political Development and Social Change in Ghana, (New York. 1972), p. 34

Colonial government to honour promises made during the war years, e.g., pension rates.[2]

The year 1966 marks the institutional end of Kwame Nkrumah's regime - For on the 24th Feb 1966, the military ousted him from power in a bloodless coup d'etat[3] normally referred to in Ghana as the "glorious revolution".

The coup did not only remove Kwame Nkrumah's government but it also banned his political party and organization - the Convention People's Party, and Nkrumah himself was in exile and was declared "a persona non grata and a wanted man".

Somehow in this period we have two estimates of Kwame Nkrumah. On the one hand as a man who did so much for Ghana, for instance, leading the independence struggle to a successful conclusion,[4] acquiring respectability for the Black African, especially Ghana, and encouraging improvements generally in developments, e.g., schools, the Volta River Hydro-electric Power Scheme inaugurated in Jan 1966.[5]

On the other hand, Nkrumah's sixteen years reign or at least part of it became the age of oppression, corruption and political chicanery, and in this paper we address ourselves to some of the issues raised to men of Faith like the Christians, by some of the measures of Kwame Nkrumah.

Nkrumah was definitely a heavy weight in Ghanaian society, but throughout the same period the church was the other heavy weight. It is not easy to get figures but it is estimated that a good 42.8% of Ghana's population

2. Ibid., p. 34

3. Report of the Watson Commission (Accra, 1948)
A.A. Afrifa, The Ghana Coup, 24th Feb 1966, (London, 1966)
A. Ocran, A Myth is Broken, (Accra, 1968)

4. H.L. Bretton, The Rise and Fall of Kwame Nkramah, (London, 1966)
D. Apter, Ghana in Transition, (New York, 1955)
K. Nkrumah, Ghana: The Autobiography of Kwame Nkrumah, (London, 1959)

5. Ghana Investors Manual, (Accra, 1974)

claimed to be Christian at least in 1966.[6] But the influence of Christianity was probably more than the numbers might suggest, for from the very beginning the churches introduced into the country formal education and hospitals and used them as handmaids of evangelism.

The result was that several of the leadership in the country if not all passed through Church schools, and consequently had the Christian impact on them. A brief picture of some of the members in the First Ghanaian Cabinet under the 1951 Constitution will confirm the point. Kwame Nkrumah who was Leader of Government Business under the Constitution had his early education in Roman Catholic institutions including the major Seminary at Amisano near Cape Coast. He even read Theology at Lincoln Theological Seminary in the United States.[7] Before Lincoln, Nkrumah was at Achimota College, Accra, under the tutorship of the Reverend A.G. Fraser, who had done missionary work in Uganda and Ceylon, and Dr. James Eman Kwegyir Aggrey of Africa.[8] Achimota College (Prince of Wales College) was founded to marry African intelligence and the best in Western knowledge and Christian ideas. No doubt such an education will have an impact and small wonder Nkrumah said that he was a non-denominational Christian.[9]

Komla Agble Gbedemah, Nkrumah's first lieutenant and the first Minister of Finance, also attended Achimota College. He is a devout Anglican and still worships at the Anglican Cathedral in Acera. Kojo Botsio, the other lieutenant of Nkrumah, and the first Minister of Education, was educated at

6. Christian Council of Ghana Newsletter Series II, No. 5, Sept 1968.

7. Rolf Italiaander, The New Leaders of Africa, (NJ, 1961), p.229

8. Ibid, p. 228
J. Duffy & R.A. Manners, Africa Speaks, (NY 1961),(p. 64)

9. Autobiography, p. 10

Adisadel College, Cape Coast which is an Anglican Missionary Foundation, then at Fourah Bay College, Sierra Leone which was founded by the Church Missionary Society of the Church of England, and then at Brasenose College, Oxford.[10] He was an active Roman Catholic even at the time of the coup d' etat of 1966. The contribution of the Church in preparing leaders for the African Political scene can therefore not be denied.

What we have then is a two fold thing - the Church existing as a visible and forcible institution in society and also Christianity as a pervasive influence and factor in Ghanaian Society. So the question naturally is what was the relationship between the two heavy weights - the State of Ghana headed by Nkrumah and the Church - which we have described. There were several denominations, for instance, Roman Catholic, Methodist, Anglican, Presbyterian, Baptist, American Methodist, Episcopal Zion, Salvation Army, the Pentecostal groups. Given denominations at the time one would have expected that the positions they would have adopted would not necessarily be the same. Eg., the Jehovah Witnesses had nothing to do with politics and indeed at one stage Nkrumah was about to take measures against that sect because they were discouraging their adherents from voting, undergoing blood transfusions and saluting the national flag. That sort of thing would be a special case, but by and large the historic churches, i.e., Roman Catholic, Methodist, Presbyterian, and Anglican - presented a unified front.

For example, the Education Ordinance of 1887 made provision for (i) Government Schools and (ii) "Assisted" schools, i.e., an institution with a minimum of 20 pupils, staffed by certified teachers, taught English (reading and writing), Arithmetic and Needlework (in the case of girls).

10. J.S. Pobee, Church and State, unpublished, p. 207

Schools which fulfilled the conditions for "Assisted" schools received grant-in-aid from the government. Church schools then, since 1887, came under the category of "Assisted" schools. By the grants-in-aid the government gave some recognition to the Church. The financial assistance made it possible for the Churches to increase their education work and thereby reach more people with the gospel. What is significant in this educational work is that since 1887 the churches had been working in partnership with the State.

In 1951 the Kwame Nkrumah government introduced the Accelerated Development Plan for Education.[11] Its ultimate goal was to provide compulsory education for all children; 40% of teachers' salaries were to be paid by local authorities by 1954. The plan also stipulated that a school established by any denominational religious body or private person (s) would be denied assistance unless the prior approval of the local authority had been obtained. This last bit of the plan creates a problem for the churches in that it is giving more control of education to the government than the churches have known. In short it modified the 1887 Education Ordinance. The Churches therefore suspected the government of trying to keep them out and therefore religion out of the schools through the new plan. They therefore reacted sharply to the plan and made representations to the government that they had no desire to hand over their schools.[12] After all, they introduced education into the country. The result of the Churches' reaction was that a compromise was reached whereby the old schools continued on the old education regulations, but any new schools needed the permission of the Education Authority of the

11. Accelerated Development Plan for Education, Accra, 1951

12. Statement by the Christian Council of the Gold Coast on Christian Education in Primary and Middle Schools, Accra, 1951.

area. It may be asserted that as from 1952 the expansion of the Church through schools slowed down, in theory at any rate. However, the partnerships continued.

But the question is why was the government desirous to have tighter control of the education policy? The simple answer may be that if the government was responsible for raising most of the educational funds and the local authority paying 40% of the salaries of teachers, then the churches could no longer be allowed to predominate in the running of the schools. This view of the situation was contested by the churches. They argued that it was not enough for the government to say that since it provided greater part of the educational funds, therefore, she should be the controller par excellence. It was the wish of some people (Christians) who were as much Ghanaian as anyone else that the Churches continue to have a say in the affairs of the schools. The fact that Christians are Ghanaians and also contribute to the upkeep of the government including education means that they should have a say in education. In addition to this, since diversity in unity is one of the hall marks of democracy, therefore, in an area as important as education people should be allowed and given the opportunity to choose the type of education theywant for their children.

Looking at the 1951 Education Plan as a developmental project, e.g., eradicating illiteracy, it was meaningful. On the other hand, one appreciates the opposing stand of the church. It had invested so much time, energy, and money into formal education. It must also be noted that at the very beginning the Church school was intended as a contact point and education a potent evangelical weapon. However, one believes that the Churches were

too impatient with the 1951 Education Plan issue. First, granted that they did a good job by founding schools, yet they did not and do not exist to produce priests and ministers to be managers of schools. The primary mission of the church is the proclamation of the gospel. And even though education was an effective evangelical weapon, it should not be the sole tool. Secondly, with the increase in numbers of schools, the priest or minister who became the local manager of many schools in the district, would certainly be doing more school and administrative work than preaching the gospel including pastoral work. This would be detrimental or contrary to the primary mission of the church. The writer was an assistant local manager of Anglican Church schools in Dunkwa-on-Ofin, Ghana, 1958-59, and was responsible for seventeen church schools with an average distance of five to fifteen miles.

On the basis of the facts stated, the church and the government are respected for their stand. But on the balance one would not have been too sad to see the state take control of education with two provisions: (1) that adequate and honest provisions should be made for the teaching of religion, since education seeks to help man cope with life of which religion is an indisputable aspect; (2) those who administer the schools should by all standards be as good and capable as, if not better than, the churches have been.

Now we turn briefly to medical work. West Africa used to be called "The White Man's Grave" [13] because many early missionaries died due to the hot tropical climate and its attendant diseases, e.g., malaria. The Society for

13. C.H. Elliott, Some Historical Events of the Diocese of Accra, Cape Coast, 1936.
Hans W. Debrunner, A History of Christianity in Ghana.

the Propagation of the Gospel, for instance, did not send out any chaplains to Cape Coast Castle between 1826 and 1843 because of frequent death! Therefore it is not surprising that medical work became an important aspect of the church's work in the Gold Coast now Ghana. In the period under review we see the Anglican Church, for example, running a Clinic and a dispensary in 1949/50 at Ashanti-Mampong and by 1953 she is running a hospital. Similarly, the Roman Catholics had one hospital in 1953. By 1960 they were running 9 hospitals and 33 clinics and dispensaries.[14] The Presbyterian effort in medical work should suffice as a case study. Through the Basel Mission the Presbyterian Church ran the Agogo hospital in Ashanti, which to date is one of the most highly esteemed of the hospitals in Ghana. This hospital was at first financed entirely through Church funds though soon the government began to contribute. However, there was another experiment in the period under reivew. In this case the government provided the physical requirements, i.e., buildings, equipment, drugs, etc., while the church was responsible for staffing the clinics and hospitals,e.g., St. Patrick's Hospital, Maase, Ashanti and Asafo Hospital, Sefwi-Wiawso, run by the Roman Catholic Church. Similarly the Basel Mission (Presbyterian) ran the Government hospital at Kawku in the Northern Region of Ghana. It is also to the Presbyterian Church that goes the credit for the establishment of the first school for the blind in West Africa, i.e., the School for the Blind at Akropong-Akwapim, near Accra, Ghana.

The involvement of the churches in medical work shows that the Christian Church was not only concerned with 'heaven' but also with the earth and the welfare of the total man. The church then was willing and did cooperate with

14. J.S. Pobee, p. 204

the State to make life tolerable and worth living for man. So in the medical field also the church maintained her partnership with the state, even if it was not always easy.

Having established a link between the church in her secular activities and the state, the pertinent question is how was this cumulative influence reflected in political life? In the early part of this paper we pointed out the church's influence on the political leaders.

On the political scene religious language was much used to express extreme devotion to the Convention People's Party (C.P.P.) and its cause. For example, on 7th Feb 1951, i.e., the eve of the 1951 General Elections - the first ever - the C.P.P. newspaper, the Evening News carried these lines:

> "Chameleon organizations shall pass away but the political Holy Ghost, the C.P.P. shall stay forever more."

These words in no doubt recall the biblical passage -

> "Heaven and earth shall pass away but my words shall never pass away." (Matt. 24:35).

At C.P.P. rallies and meetings Christian hymns or adaptations of Christian hymns were regularly used. The most popular were: (i) "Through the bitterest struggles, we'll always stand", (ii) "If you will follow me, I will make you fishers of men." and (iii) John Henry Newman's, "Lead, kindly light, amid the encircling gloom", which was really the official humn of the C.P.P.[15].

The Evening News of October 30th, 1961 exhorted every Nkrumaist to learn to repeat at sunrise and sunset:

15. Botchway, p. 45

"I vow to thee my country
All earthly things above,
Entire and whole and perfect,
The services of my love -
The love that asks no questions
The love that pays the price
That lays upon the altar
The dearest and the best."

This is the first stanza of Cecil Spring-Rice's Hymn on Citizenship and Service. The newspaper's comment was that it is this spirit that will make the nation great. The conclusion is clear that in whatever terms one looked at Christianity it was evidently a great influence in Ghanaian society and politics. This is to be expected because the use of biblical language and themes in the political campaign is a reflection of the type of education in the country as a whole. In fact this is a credit to the effective contribution of the Christian Church to the civilization of the developing Gold Coast (Ghana).

However, the Christian Church came into conflict with Nkrumah's government on some aspects of this use of biblical language and ideas. One such issue refers to the inscription on the pedestal of Kwame Nkrumah's statue erected in front of Parliament House in 1958. The words were:

"Seek ye first the political kingdom and all other things shall be added to you."

This is a parody of Matthew 6:33 - "Seek ye first the kingdom of God and his righteousness, and all these things shall be added unto you." The Christian Council of Ghana, in a letter dated 28 April 1958 to the then Minister of Works, whose Ministry was responsible for erecting the statue, asked him to use his good offices to remove the words from the status and substitute a non-biblical inscription. The council's reasons were"

"If intended seriously, it is a denial of one of the best known sayings of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ, otherwise it is an irrelevant parody of it. Either attitude is unacceptable to Christians 'who hold the Lord Jesus to be Christ and Lord, the Way, the Truth and the Life'".

The council's protest was abortive. In fact, the Chairman and Secretary of the Christian Council were called in by the Minister twice and "verbally savaged" by two of his Cabinet Colleagues. Threats were uttered that such an action from the Christian Council was an offence against the recently enacted Avoidance of Discrimination Act since in this the Christian Council was virtually becoming a political party, and therefore, liable to elimination." [16] How the Minister came to conclude that a protest against the use of a parody of a biblical saying means becoming a political party is difficult to understand. Anyway, the threats were meant to silence the church, which was nevertheless a heavy-weight and a force with which to reckon.

On this failure of the protest of the Christian Council, at least one point stands out. It is that unlike Kwame Nkrumah who in the political situation of the period was aware of the language the masses could appreciate and understand, the Church was not sensitive enough to the political mood of the country as a whole. Nevertheless, it must be noted on Nkrumah's inscription, that it was false to say that everything would be achieved through gaining political power in Ghana since history has not produced one yet, not even the Russian revolution.

16. R. Roseveare, The Fate of Religion Under Nkrumah's Regime in No More Comrade, Accra 1967 p. 11

Another interesting area to look at is Kwame Nkrumah's Youth Movement called the Ghana Young Pioneer Movement. It had a ceremony called the institutionalization of the Osagyefo. The movement was established in 1960 and banned on 7th March 1966.[17] The point of interest is that the Church was not left out when this youth movement was being established. The Nkrumah Government after consulting the Methodist Church appointed the Rev. J.S. Stephens as Rector of the Young Pioneer Movement.[18] He had hitherto been responsible for the youth work of the Methodist Church. And yet this is another area where the churches came into conflict with the Government resulting in the deportation in August 1962 of the Anglican Bishop of Accra for attacking the alleged atheism of the Ghana Young Pioneer Movement. The Bishop was the late Rt Rev. Richard Roseveara.

The issue relates to the pledge of the Movement. It reads as follows:

> "I sincerely promise to live by the ideals of Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, founder of the state of Ghana and initiator of African Personality. I believe that the dynamic C.P.P. is always supreme, and I promise to be worthy of its ideals."[19]

In fact, living by Nkrumah's ideals, otherwise known as Nkrumaism - an ideology - was an attempt to institutionalize Nkrumah. Some Christians saw this as incompatible with imitating Christ (1 Thess. 1:6). Hence the charge of atheism. The official attitude of the Christian Council is best summed up in Bishop Roseveare's words being part of his charge to the Accra Diocesan Synod:

17. Charles Ballard, Theses Young Pioneer, in Institute of African Studies Library, Ghana.
18. J.S. Pobee, p. 213.
19. Ballard, p. 74

"We (i.e., the heads of churches) made our views known to the Minister of Education (i.e., Mr. Dowuona - Hammond) last April (1962), saying that we found it impossible to give our support and cooperation in the development of the Movement as at present constituted. It is an affront to our age-long traditions that, in Ghana of all countries, a National Institution for the training and development of boys and girls should entirely ignore the existence and claims of Almighty God. Moreover, it seems the Movement confuses the work and example of a great man with Divine Acts which are unique in history. The incipient atheism is quite foreign to the traditional concept of African Personality."

The writer was a member of Synod.[20]

The charge of atheism was denied again and again by the CPP press and personalities. For example, the editorial of the Evening News of August 9, 1962 contained a paragraph as follows:

"In line with the National policy of the Movement not to tie down the youth under any sectarian discipline or doctrine, all members have the freedom to follow their individual religious beliefs. Surely, self-appointed mentors like Roseveare cannot bamboozle the world into believing that our Pioneers are a godless organization because imperialist-inspired scriptures are not actually known in the instructional programme of the Young Pioneer Organization. And coming back to historical facts, let it be known that Freedom of religion with other freedoms, is enshrined in our Constitution. What is more, the democratic organization of our Party itself makes room for the grace and presence of God.[21]

20. Synod Charge at Adisadel College, Cape Coast, 4th August 1962

21. Cited by Pobee, p. 215-216.

If we define atheism simply as a 'break with Biblical faith or the Biblical idea of the divine', then we have to agree with the denials. Also on the 26th of Feb., 1966, i.e., two days after the coup the writer and other military officers visited Flag Staff House, the official residence of Kwame Nkrumah. Among other things in Nkrumah's bedroom we saw a leather bound bible on a bookshelf by the bed side. The bible was one presented to him through the Minister of Education, who represented him at the opening of the Ghana Bible House. The writer was interested to know that the bible got to the President, and that it was among other religious books by his bed side. Also by the bedside was a rosary. We do not hold brief for Kwame Nkrumah's religious convictions, but we can say that the bible and the rosary represent religious interest, and it is a point in favour of the denial of atheism. Again there were rumours that at Young Pioneer meetings the children were allegedly asked to close their eyes and pray to God for sweets. Nothing happened. Then they were asked to close their eyes and pray to Osagyefo for sweets. There on sweets poured down. In this way the children learned the superiority of Nkrumah as compared to the Christian's God. This is atheistic but it was denied by the authorities. And none of the Pioneers interviewed at Saltpond in 1962 confirmed the incident. The writer was Diocesan Youth organizer and also parish priest of Saltpond 1960-63. The children interviewed were in the local church schools and some were Cloisters and servers in the Anglican and Roman Catholic Churches. Furthermore, we agree with the denials of atheism because it is not true that living by the ideals of the Osagyefo is incompatible with imitation of Christ. We say this because Saint Paul who calls himself 'the Foremost of Sinners' (1 Tim 1:15R.S.V.),

also exhorts Christians to join together to be imitators of himself and of the Lord (1 Thess. 1:6; Phil. 3:17). St. Paul has no sense of embarrassment in acting in this way. In fact there was no suggestion in the Pioneer pledge that a pioneer could not also follow the ideals of his church.

As regards the last line of the pledge - "I believe that the dynamic C.P.P. is always supreme" - it was manifested in various forms. For example, loans or scholarships were awarded to only holders of the C.P.P. card; there were times when teachers or civil servants were compelled to register as party members or to lead their junior staff members on demonstrations organized by the Party. We admit the supremacy of the Party, but we want also to affirm the fact that it is unacceptable to say that the Party is always supreme, because it claims infallibility which in the Christian view may not be claimed by human beings or an organization composed of men. To claim infallibility is not to be sensitive enough to the fact that men by nature and definition have their shortcomings. And that is what the church exists inter alia to bring to the mind of every man. It is rather unfortunate that in opposing the alleged atheism of the pledge the church lost sight of more deeper issues of the Ghanaian society of the time.

We shall now have a quick glance at the deification of Nkrumah. It is not possible in this paper to go through most of the honorifics and incidents bearing on this area, we will therefore consider one example. It is turning Nkroful, the birth place of Nkrumah into a shrine. Nkroful is a small village a few miles from Esiama on the highway from Axim to Half Assini in the Western Region of Ghana. This was done with state funds after a Parliamentary debate on a private member's motion on the 24th of May 1961 by Mr. J.K. Kinnah,

the C.P.P. member of Parliament for Eastern Nzima, I.E., nkrumah's home area. Speaking to the motion Mr. Kinnah said:

> "This (i.e., turning the birthplace into a shrine) is not a new theory I am propounding. It has happened in many countries of the world. To mention only a few, we know of Bethlehem the birthplace of Christ, the Redeemer of the World; Mecca the birthplace of Mohammed, the Father of Islam; and Stratford-on-Avon, where Shakespeare the great playwright was born. If it is preserved it will be an incentive for many more honourable members to visit the place for inspiration. Nkroful could serve as the Mecca of African Politics."[22]

The shrine was to celebrate and honour Kwame Nkrumah as the African Messiah.

The motion was carried and the shrine was set up. No doubt it recalled the Grotto of the Nativity of Bethlehem. At the shrine were Nkrumah's portrait, a collection of his great sayings and important historical pictures of his life. In addition there were the following: (i) the dress and sandals which he wore on his arrest after the positive action (1950); (ii) the handcuffs put on his hands on that arrest; (iii) the small piece of pencil which he was supposed to have used in smuggling out of prison various notes; (iv) the blanket he slept on in prison and (v) copies of the court proceedings in his various trials. Some of the items mentioned may be fraudulent.

But whether some of the items listed may be fraudulent or not, the significant thing is that the establishment of the shrine confirmed the fact that the C.P.P. sought to accord Nkrumah the status of an object of worship and, therefore, divinity. And since Nkrumah did not make any attempt to repudiate this and that the shrine was actually effected with Government Funds (Nkrumah himself being the Executive President and Head of State), it is our contention that he approved and acquiesced in it.

As a matter of fact no serious Christian would accept the divinity of Nkrumah and none would go on pilgrimage to the shrine as that would be committing idolatry. It is in this spirit that Kofi Abrefa Busia who was a leading

22. Ghana Parliamentary Debate Vol. 23 No. 26, pp. 877 ff.

opposition member of Parliament and also a committed and active Methodist, wrote and uttered protests against the attempts to deify Nkrumah as early as 1952 and 1953. So too did J.W.K. Dumoga,a veteran journalist.[23] It is also worthy of note that the C.P.P. member of Parliament for Amenfi Aowin, P.K.K. Quaidoo, who had hitherto been described as a "Catholic Slave and Hypocrite" by a section of the Party press, advised caution during the debate setting up the shrine. While acknowledging the greatness of Osagyefo, 'it would have been better for us to wait and express this sincere appreciation for this men when he is no more - and when he is no more with us there would be no chance of his changing, and there would be no chance of anybody having a different opinion about him. While the man is still a man, and while he as a citizen of Ghana has contributed to, and has been able to coordinate the efforts of so many people in order to bring about our present status, if we want to do anything to honour him we must first of all make sure that what we do to honour him is not short-lived. It would be hypocritical on the part of Ghana, while the Doctor is alive with us, to pay him all the tributes from high heaven but the moment he is no more then he is forgotten. And that is why I say we must never do that, because if he is great, he will be greater still when he is dead. He is great with us, and we know he is great and he will be greater still when he is dead, and posterity will honour him.' [24]

Quaidoo's point was that Kwame Nkrumah was unmistakably a human being like the other heroes of Ghana's history, e.g., John Mensah Sarbah and James Nkegyir Aggrey of Africa, and therefore, not divine and that claims of

23. K.A. Busia in Parliamentary Affairs, Vol. V no. 4 (1952)
K.A. Busia in Ashanti Pioneer, 17th March, 1953
J.W.K. Dumoga in Ashanti Pioneer, 22nd May, 1954.
24. Ghana Parliamentary Debate, Vol. 23, No. 26, p. 897.

divinity for him were premature, to put it mildly. Else where in his speech Quaidoo warned against Fanaticism, hypocrisy and arrogance.

Here then we see men of faith, individually taking courageous and vocal stand on the issue of Nkrumah's shrine - the deification of Nkrumah.

This paper has tried to show that in the period under discussion, in Church or in the state in Ghana Christian people were to be found. The Christian Church helped in the building of the nation through educational and medical care and concern. In that way the church and state were partners. However the partnership was not always easy. The church took exception to certain policies of the Government of the day. In fact, individual Christians and the leadership of the Church did not remain silent and opposed the wellnigh blasphemous statements made under the pretext of African Nationalism and which sometimes even claimed to interpret the Gospels.

We would conclude that though the Church and the State in Ghana between the period 1950 and 1966 clashed, yet compared to the Church and state in Nero's time or the Jews under the Nazi regime, the Ghana scene was very mild in nature.

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